1: Ray E-5 (1928-38) 1939 Plateau

This last observation is likewise corroborated by Cayuse and Umatilla.

All elements of Plains culture to be found in the Plateau, however, are intimately bound up with the horse complex. Though real enough, the relationship is probably indirect. Intercourse with far distant areas was obviously stimulated by possession of the horse. It would appear, therefore, that possessing the horse, the Indians of the eastern Plateau came into more frequent and intimate contact with Plains tribes and carried home many of the more obvious and impressive elements of Plains culture. One of these was tribal organization. The horse played a further role in this respect. It not only made visits to distant points possible, but greatly amplified intercourse within local areas. Village isolation was eliminated; local problems were dwarfed by regional problems, especially those of warfare and defense. Warfare itself was greatly amplified in frequency and scale.

The chronological problem raised earlier is now partially answered, if these reconstructions be correct. Tribal organization must have arisen subsequent to the acquisition of the horse. Haines places the date for this area at 1730. This corresponds closely to native estimates.

Village, Band, and Tribe

It has been convenient above to use and quote the term "band" without definition. Actually the word is applied in two quite different senses: one, a grouping of villages; two, a mobile or migratory group, usually small, in an area where sedentary life is lacking or little emphasized. In the latter sense the band is strictly analogous to the village so far as theory of organization is concerned. This type of local unit is found exclusively among the Sekani, and to a certain extent among the Carrier, Chilcotin, and Flathead. On the whole, Plateau life involves wintertime occupancy of river villages, and summertime camping at fishing, berrying, and root-digging grounds.

The band which consists of a number of villages is of quite a different order. Two sub-types, differing greatly in basic conception, may be isolated in the Plateau. One is merely the embryonic tribe developing under indirect influence from the Plains. Its most objective marks are common action in war and the recognition of a common war chief. Subjectively it involves a weakly developed national feeling and pride in the strength of unity. Type examples are the Yakima and Klikitat. The tendency is also observable among the Wenatchi, Columbia, Spokane, Palus, and Kalispel.

4: Ray et al E-5 (1934-37) 1938 Plateau

131* 173 114

9. Paiute pressure then forced the Molala to migrate west of the Cascades.	9. The Molala were driven west of the Cascades by the Tenino, not by the Paiute.
10. These movements brought the Paiute north almost to the Columbia.	10. These movements carried the Paiute farther and farther south away from the Columbia, which they now approached only on occasional long forays.
11. In consequence of Paiute raids the south bank of the Columbia River was practically cleared of Salishan and Sahaptin peoples from The Dalles east to Umatilla.	11. The Tenino, to their recollection, were never thus driven from the south bank of the Columbia; the apparent lack of occupation was presumably due to the fact that all their permanent villages were located several miles or more to the south, away from the river.

In conclusion, it would seem high time to abandon a theory which was based in the first instance upon undependable evidence, which has been unsubstantiated by any subsequent field worker in central Oregon, and which is flatly contradicted by an abundance of opposing evidence.

GEORGE PETER MURDOCK

YALE UNIVERSITY

NORTHERN PAIUTE BANDS IN OREGON

131* 173 166

The people of Harney Valley, Oregon, are a band of Northern Paiute known as the Wada'tika (Wada, seed; tika'a, eaters).[48] They wintered in Silver Creek, Harney, Diamond, Blitzen and Catlow Valleys in Harney County, southeastern Oregon. The southernmost winter camp remembered was at Roaring Springs, Catlow Valley, although some conflicting evidence indicates the presence of a winter camp on Wild Horse Creek, southeast of the Steens Mountains. No winter camp north of the boundaries of Harney Valley was remembered. The westernmost wintering place was Suntex in Silver Creek Valley. The Steens Mountains and the plateau forming the wall of Harney Valley were the eastern boundaries, except for the problematical camp at Wild Horse. The hunting and gathering grounds of the band extended north to the vicinity of Silvies, west to Wagontire, southwest to the neighborhood of Beatty Butte, south to the limits of

[48] During the summers of 1936 and 1937 I did field work at Burns, Oregon.

4: Ray et al E-5 (1934-37) 1938 Plateau

Catlow Valley, southeast to Alvord Lake and northeast to Drewsey. 131 x 173 166

These boundaries are far from definite; neighboring bands frequently wandering farther from their winter bases and the Wada Eaters likewise venturing, at times, a greater distance from Harney Valley. Furthermore, the bands were extremely fluid in character, and there were occasional small camp groups which wandered from band to band and which do not seem to have wintered with any definite nuclear group. There was no feeling of band ownership of the hunting and gathering grounds. Any group of people might utilize the produce of the terrain without trespassing. There was a tendency, however, for the Wada Eaters to frequent the same places from year to year. During the summer wandering, they would often encounter people of different groups.

The Wada Eater knew well and had frequent intercourse with seven surrounding bands. They located these bands by their winter camps. In some instances they gave specific information as to the places they were likely to be found during the summer season. In mapping these regions, there is land which they did not assign to any definite group. Such territory was undoubtedly utilized by all adjacent bands, like all hunting and gathering grounds.

Directly north of the Wada Eaters were the Hu'nipwi'tĭka (huni'bui, root) whose winter camps, according to my informants, centered around Canyon City Creek, the town of John Day, and the valley of the John Day River to the west. They hunted as far south as Seneca and Izee, and at least as far west as Dayville. I have no information as to their northern boundary, but it was stated that they wintered on both sides of the John Day River and as far north as Waterman. As to the easternmost extension of their terrain there was disagreement. Some informants cited a separate band of Elk Eaters (Pa'tĭhĭchi'tĭka) to the east of the Huni'bui Eaters in the vicinity of Prairie City and Baker. Others, however, stated that these people were part of the Huni'bui Eaters band. In any case, the information would seem to indicate the presence of camps as far east as Baker. 131 x 173

To the northwest of the Wada Eaters, wintering on the east side of the Deschutes River, were the Juniper-Deer Eaters (Wa'dĭhĭchi'tĭka: wa'pi, juniper; dĭhĭ'chə, deer.) The northernmost place mentioned as inhabited by them was Gateway, the southernmost, Bend. To the east Prineville is the last definitely located site. Mount Jefferson, to the west, was mentioned as a hunting ground.

West of the Wada Eaters and south of the Juniper-Deer Eaters, in the vicinity of Paisley, were the Yapa'tĭka (yapa, epos), or Goya'tĭka (craw-